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"What is your condition under these *indulgent* ministers who now direct us? At a time when we "might have enjoyed our own dominions in security, and have been umpires in all disputes "abroad, we are, by having too long consulted only our ease and our pleasure, reduced to the "grievous necessity of engaging in affairs the most shocking and disagreeable, and of exposing "ourselves in the defence of this our native territory. Turn your eyes to the men, of whose "administration these are the fruits. Some of whom, from the lowest state of poverty, have "arisen suddenly to affluence; some from meanness to renown: others have made their own "houses much more magnificent than the public edifices. Just as the state hath fallen, their pri-"vate fortunes have been raised."——DEMOSTHENES' ORATIONS.

DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,——It is the duty of every individual to contribute, by his exertions, towards the defence and safety of his country. If he can, either by pointing out defects, or by proposing remedies for those that are already glaring, be of any service, he should not with-hold his observations. It is this consideration that induces me to make a few remarks on the present military aspect of this country. Since the apprehension of invasion has been entertained, almost every man has formed some system of defence; in the event of an attack. Some are for fortifying London with bastions a hundred feet high, according to a gentleman who has written on the subject; others are for surrounding it with a line, thirty miles in circumference, according to a sketch lately presented to the public, in a paper which seems to have been written rather in the office of a magistrate, than in the closet of a general. Many trust their safety only to the navy: some would place their entire security in the volunteers; and, there are men, who look to the *marines* for the defence of the nation. Amongst the various resources of opposition, I would take advantage of one, which has long been discovered, and which all military men, who have thought on their profession, and know how to appreciate its qualities, have but one opinion about; I mean, the adapting our army to the country it has to act in, and the consequent formation of it into light corps, capable of opposing those of the enemy of a similar nature. With men, who have studied war, it is unnecessary to go over the advantages, the direct necessity of such troops, so many proofs have been given in all countries, and in all times, that every thing that could now be said, about the properties of light troops, would be but a repetition of truths, that have been exemplified in almost every action of the late war.—— There is not a military man, in this country (that has been on service), who has not perceived the necessity of adopting a mode of fighting, by which British troops have always been baffled, in an enclosed or mountainous country; is it not therefore surprising that men who have had opportunities of remarking this, and who have the direction of the army, should not give it the shape that is necessary to a country of that description, which ours undoubtedly is, and which indeed is almost the general face of Europe?——In the formation of an army, it would be unpardonable to calculate simply on defensive operations, and to make arrangements suited only to our own country. I cannot therefore mean that we should sacrifice any advantages our tactics might possess, merely because they did not accord with the features of this country, and if the establishment of light troops (properly called so,) were alone calculated to be useful in England, and did not add to our superiority when employed in foreign countries, I should certainly not be so strenuous for its adoption, but when it is confessed that tirailleurs do give superiority to an army, in an enclosed mountainous or woody country, in proportion to the enemy's deficiency in them, is it not to be lamented that we are without them? The misfortune is, that it is not owing to any doubt about their advantages that we have none; but, it is because we persuade ourselves that we *do* possess troops of that description. It is continually objected that we have a *light company* in each regiment in the service, and that the aggregate of these companies forms a sufficient corps of light troops, proportioned to the extent of our army. There is certainly a company in every regiment, *called* the light company, but who can consent to allow them that appellation, when they are *armed, clothed, drilled*, and appointed, (with the exception of a *green feather*) in the same manner as the grenadiers? It is, besides, notorious, that these companies know nothing

of the movements of the tirailleurs, and are always exercised in the solid principles of the battalion. In the manœuvres of the regiment, they have seldom any distinct part to act, but are generally considered as any other of the companies, and practised in the same formations. To ascertain the truth of this, it is only necessary to apply to the general orders for the exercise of the troops, and to the custom of the different regiments in the service. But, even allowing that our light companies were taught the use of the rifle and the movements of tirailleurs, unless their clothing is changed and distribution altered, nothing is done; for, it is impossible that troops dressed in red, the most conspicuous colour that is, should ever be able to perform the various tricks of tirailleurs, who should be accustomed to the practice of every kind of stratagem. How easily might two or three hundred men, dressed in green, and properly accoutred, steal into a wood unperceived, and, lying on the ground, covered with a few branches, elude the observation of patroles, who are never too exact in their search? Men trained to this kind of warfare, under an officer of genius and experience, are capable of any thing: no height would be inaccessible, or wood impassible, and the constant disquietude they would give the enemy would often make him uneasy, independent of the advantages gained by the destruction of small dépôts, the interruption of convoys, the taking of prisoners, and in short, all the consequences of that partisan war, which was at one time so much the fashion, which has given way to greater operations, it is true, but which I see no reason for totally laying aside, for though much may be said against these independent movements, which did not lead to any general object, and which might perhaps, degenerate into a kind of piracy, unless attended to, it undoubtedly was the school for forming officers, and that is not an inconsiderable circumstance in its favour. — But, there is one great argument in favour of tirailleurs, which is, that they are in general use in the armies of Europe, and that alone is a sufficient cause for their institution in ours. We must keep pace with the improvements that our enemies may have made in the art of war, or we shall be so far back as to be unable to oppose them. If the armies of Europe were entirely composed of infantry, that nation who first used cavalry in any action that admitted it would have a decided advantage. It becomes, therefore, necessary for all the others to have cavalry. The same may be said with respect to artillery, with respect to the invention of the musket, and lastly, of the bayonet; and why should it not apply to tirailleurs? If a new system of warfare has given superiority in certain situations to the enemy, why should not we destroy it by practising that system ourselves?——What are the remarks of the British troops, who have returned from the different expeditions of the late war?—Whenever they admit any advantages on the part of the enemy, they invariably attribute them to their riflemen. In speaking of the attack or defence of posts, they particularise the galling fire of the riflemen, as their greatest obstacles, and lament that their own want of such troops exposed them entirely to those of the enemy. —Will they ever mention the light companies of the army as having supplied their place? They know them to be incapable of it, and would as soon look to grenadiers.— It is the misfortune of our service, that we have one arbitrary system, which is to be pursued equally in plains and in mountains, and never to yield to natural obstacles. A British army, in a close country, makes as ridiculous a figure as an old man attempting to perform the feats of youth. You see grenadiers, loaded with accoutrements and baggage, skipping about *en tirailleurs*, and endeavouring to perform operations they never were calculated for. This must always be the case, as long as we continue to form our tactics on the principles of former days. When military men take great generals for their models, it is their genius and character that is to be their example, not their operations. If a general were now to attempt to execute the plan of a campaign, in the way of our great masters in the art of war, he could not avoid failing. Let those men at the head of our armies, who seem so religiously careful not to deviate from the tactics of Ramilies and Blenheim, ask themselves, if Marlborough and Eugene, were they to command armies in the present day, would preserve the system that won them those battles?——Our service is as *imitative* as any in the world; but we do not always choose the best models; we almost scorn to take an idea from the French; every argument is answered by saying, that, on equal ground, and in equal numbers, we can always beat them; without considering how few opportunities they give us of meeting them with these advantages.—I will grant, that we can beat them in what is called fair fighting, and where they cannot avail themselves of their tirailleurs, which was the case in Egypt, an open country; but I am persuaded, that in a mountain war, our superiority would be lost, in consequence of our

deficiency in light troops.—In the present formation of the British army, I see no position so secure as a plain; because, in a close country, all the advantages are for the enemy. Posts that to them would afford security for their flanks and cover for their front, are, to us, so many traps, that we cannot remain near to, without danger; and, until we are convinced, that our *light companies* are not *light troops*, it will continue to be the case.——It would be an endless labour to particularise the various advantages of tirailleurs: besides, it would be an unnecessary one.—I am persuaded that the Commander in Chief, as well as almost every general in the service, are aware of them; how then can it be accounted for, that such troops are not established? I am at a loss to discover the true cause; but can only attribute it to that infatuated attachment to a system, which was adopted before such considerable improvements were made in the art of war, but which has never suffered the smallest change in consequence. The principal merit of this system consisted in its being the only one, and because it accorded with the stiff parade ideas of a few persons, who only understood what is called "playing soldiers." It has never been sanctioned by the experience of its benefit, and the theory of it has hardly ever been applicable.——It will be at length acknowledged, that a general, in making war, should lay aside the mathematician; that, in directing the operations of men, the compass and ruler are useless instruments, and that, in order to call into action the full powers of a soldier, we are to apply to him general principles, not the doctrine of machinery.—This remark will be disagreeable to a great portion of officers; for, they are almost universally taught to sacrifice every thing to method and precision: all considerations give way to this, and the advantages that might be gained by celerity of movement, are neglected, in order to preserve the showy business of points, lines, distances, and the various formations, perpendicular, parallel, diagonal, &c. &c.——We seem to forget, that the art of war is to be learned in the study of men, and that our tactics should be consequently formed on their relations rather than on mathematical principles.—As men are the tools and implements of war, so we should take into consideration their nature, habits, and passions, in order to apply them rightly, and not senselessly endeavour to reduce them to pieces of clock-work, that we can put in motion for purposes of show, but which return to their original state, the moment they have more serious duties to perform.——In disapproving of the mechanical state, to which the British army is approaching, in consequence of the system it has adopted, I do not mean to take from the merit of the general, who was the author, or rather compiler of it; his labours prove him to have been calculated for the task; but, there are two species of good officers, in one of which he may be classed.——The first is a general who can make the disposition of an attack, and execute it with vigour and judgment; he is well acquainted with the detail of all the duties and arrangements of troops, can mark out a camp, trace works, and sketch the face of a country; he can draw plans and views, measure distances, drill regiments, and, in short, understands what is generally called all the duties of an officer, in this country, where the acquirements of an officer are more attended to than the qualities. Such a man is held up to admiration; and, indeed, he has claim to some, and might fill *a subordinate station* with considerable merit and even eclat.——The other species of officer is a general whose mind embraces all the duties of his profession, without dwelling on its details: his imagination leads him to all the resources which war affords, and his judgment directs him in their application. Accustomed to superior thought, he is more calculated to devise the plan of a campaign, than the surprise of a post; he is more conversant in maps than in plans: it would be more difficult for him to trace a work than to determine its position and perceive its advantages: his talents are various, his abilities enable him to distinguish all the duties of his situation, and to give to each of them the consideration it merits: he does not attach equal importance to all, but separates the valuable parts from the dross and frippery, with which they are too frequently associated: he understands the geography, history, and politics of the country he makes war in, the genius of the inhabitants, the produce of the soil, its riches, and manufactures, and in short, every thing that can be turned to his advantage.——Such a man is calculated for a Commander in Chief.——In the British service there is but one officer who has shewn himself to be of that description, and that is LORD HUTCHINSON: the rest, generally speaking, have displayed more of the post captain than the general.——I have been insensibly led from the original intention of this letter, which was merely to suggest, or rather repeat the necessity of substituting in the place of our light companies, troops capable of performing their duties, properly armed, clothed, trained, and

appointed, and formed in battalions, not attached by companies, to the different regiments—the greatest proof of the impropriety of this distribution is, that, on service, the different companies are almost always collected into battalions, from which it appears, that it is considered the best mode.——In the establishment of corps of tirailleurs, I cannot agree with the common opinion, that young troops or recruits would answer as well, or even better than any other.——It is soldiers who have seen a few campaigns, and who understand the *ruses de guerre*, it is the old hands who are best calculated for a service where a great deal depends on individual intelligence and experience.——It would be needless to give any hints for the training or raising such corps; the War-Office is full of memorials on the subject; I shall, therefore, only remark, that a comparatively small sum of money, employed in this way, would render the metropolis more secure than the millions that may be expended in fortifying it.——I am, Sir, your obedient servant, VELITES.

October 9th, 1803.

SPEECH

OF THE RIGHT HON. LORD MINTO,

At a General Meeting of the County of Roxburgh, held at Jedburgh, on the 15th of August, 1803, *on moving an Address to his Majesty.—Ordered by the Meeting to be printed and circulated.*

GENTLEMEN,—In matter of such high import as the quarrels of nations, and the last solemn appeal to the sword, our first solicitude undoubtedly should be, to ascertain that our cause is just. And yet, it must be acknowledged, there are situations (such, precisely, as that in which, by the act and choice of the enemy, we are now placed) which must of necessity supercede even that primary consideration. For although no man can feel more strongly than myself, the enormous, irremissible guilt of those who would plunge two nations into the wretched calamities of war, either upon unjust, or upon frivolous and inadequate grounds; yet, I must fairly say, speaking as a private man, as a subject, as a citizen of any country in the world, when that country is in jeopardy, when we are not deliberating whether we shall engage in war, just or unjust, or whether in its prosecution we shall carry our arms aggressively into the territories of another nation; but when our own coasts are threatened, when the menace, distinctly pronounced and insolently proclaimed by the enemy, is to conquer, to enslave, and to destroy the very land in which we breathe; then, I say, there is no leisure for the learned subtleties of doctors and civilians, or for the diplomatic controversies of ministers and ambassadors in their cabinets and congresses; then the honestest doubt, the most conscientious scruple, of the fairest and most loyal man; then all hesitation, of whatever character, falls, in my estimation, little short of the foulest and rankest treason; then all duties are cancelled, all are at least suspended, save one alone; one only duty, one only function, remains for an honest man—that of defending his country.——Nevertheless, impressed as I am with this sentiment, firm as I am in this principle, it is yet matter of much and serious consolation to be assured, that we have nothing to reproach ourselves with, even in the grounds and origin of this contest; that we can confidently claim, not only the clear and indisputable virtues of justice and moderation, but properties more questionable in the controversies of nations, I mean those of meekness and forbearance. Instead of the criminal indulgence of unjust or inordinate ambition; instead even of the more legitimate indulgence, legitimate under such provocations as ours, of an ardent and lofty spirit; our conduct has rather touched, perhaps, the opposite extreme of a too tolerant, a too bending, a too complying temper. His Majesty has surely sufficiently evinced to us and to the world, the sincerity of his solicitude for the repose of his subjects and the tranquillity of Europe, by the many and important sacrifices he made to those paternal and beneficent views at the late peace. The same pacific disposition has been displayed in every hour of the short interval which has elapsed between the conclusion of that peace and the recent rupture. Notwithstanding all the valuable concessions formally assented to in the treaty; notwithstanding the immense, and I must say to us the dangerous aggrandizement of our rival, to which we then subscribed; confiding, no doubt, in the new professions of moderation and amity, lavished with sufficient profusion by the enemy on that occasion; we have ever since been the spectators of fresh conquests, and the objects of fresh insult and outrage, as fast as events of that nature could succeed each other. Scarcely a week, I would venture to say, not a month has passed, without some enormous stride of French ambition towards universal monarchy, and, as the rich recompense which was to crown her toils, as the last and brightest of her twelve labours, towards the final overthrow of this

rival empire.——This, then, is the broad occasion of the war; for it is a misconception, but a misconception into which the enemy has not been sparing of art or industry to mislead the world, to imagine that the question between us has turned on any single point, or on any one particular possession. Malta was, indeed, the most prominent and ostensible feature in the discussions which preceded the renewal of hostilities; but Malta was in truth but the last feather which broke at length the overloaded back of British patience. The war itself had a deeper root. The true provocation to that war, that provocation which left no option and admitted of no delay, is to be found in the larger and more general ground to which I have just adverted; in the unheard-of extent already acquired to the French dominion; in the yet unsatisfied and insatiable ambition of that power; but above all, in her irreconcileable, bitter, and rancorous hatred of the British nation. ——The French government would, no doubt, have preferred the insidious course in which it had found so many facilities, to the hazard of open war. The wish of France, it must be presumed, would have been to advance, rather circuitously than directly, and, as it were, in front, to her aim. This policy is obvious; for her recent experience must naturally have induced an expectation, that by these means she might obtain a yet further prolongation of that acquiescence to which she was accustomed in those more remote, but not less certain preparations of our ruin. But in truth she appears to have been hurried down the stream of her successes, a little beyond, perhaps, the precise line of her own more deliberate system. Having accomplished her views on the Continent; having consolidated her immense power in Europe, unopposed, and with more celerity than her calculations could have promised, or a sounder policy might, perhaps, have advised, she found herself suddenly arrived at that precise point of her process, which distinctly threatened the dearest and most essential interests of Great-Britain. The very next shaft, though still aimed a little obliquely, was to have been a deadly one indeed. She was to resume the possession of Malta; from thence to have resettled her power in Egypt; and, from that favourable position, to have certainly and instantly disturbed, but as she hoped, and, to say the truth, as she frankly enough but insultingly declared, to have ultimately subverted our empire in the East. Here then we found at length the utmost term of pacific endurance. Here it was at least impossible that our own government should consent to become the very instrument of such designs; to lend their hand, and put their shoulder, as it were, by the voluntary surrender of Malta (a demand wholly unwarranted in those circumstances by the treaty), not only to the certain, but to the prompt and approaching ruin of the nation. Here then the stand was made. There are those who may have thought it should have been made earlier; but let me ask, where is that Englishman to be found who would have wished it deferred a day later? France then interrupted in her slower, but less arduous and more certain plan of hostility; disturbed in the very act of winding her distant toils around us; prevented from crippling and dissevering the limbs and members of our empire; detected, in a word, and driven from the covert approaches of fraud and policy, calls in her scattered skirmishers, collects her strength, and strikes directly at the heart.—— Such is the short but true account of these events. Our enemy has waged one continued war upon us, from the day on which he signed the peace; and now that he is arrested in that pacific, safe, and bloodless hostility, he is constrained per force either to abandon his last and fondest hope, that which has been the motive, and, in his estimation, was to be the rich fruit of all his past, but otherwise barren, unrequited labours, the overthrow of the British empire; or to try, as the only course not yet barred against him (and I trust it will prove not only his last but his forlorn hope), to try his fortune in the only open contest he is capable of maintaining with us; a contest for the metropolis itself of our empire, for the very soil and territory of these kingdoms.——We have but this question, then, to resolve—shall we defend our country, or resign it? ——And first, I ask, what is that country? What is this golden prize for which we are to contend? A country, rich in all the blessings that are derived from a free and equal government; a government which seems to have grown and matured itself by the continued exercise of wisdom in the lawgivers, and virtue in the people, through a long series of ages; which has been sanctioned by the applause, and even by the acknowledged envy of the whole world; but the excellence of which is yet better proved, by the unceasing progress of the people in every species of prosperity and happiness; a government which knows no distinctions amongst us, in the protection of the laws; which enables every man of

every degree, alike, to acquire the fair fruits of honest industry, of useful talents, of genius, and even of fortune; and when acquired, secures alike to all, the firm possession of their own; a government which, thus perfect in theory, has been administered, through the whole at least of our generation, by the most virtuous, the most just, the most benevolent man in the nation. Such is the Sovereign whom we are summoned to renounce; such the Government which we are commanded, by an insolent stranger, to exchange for his foreign yoke. —— Let me ask once again, what is that country we would defend? It is that in which we have all drawn our first breath; which has reared us kindly to strength and manhood; which has been our mother and our tender nurse; it is that in which the ashes of our fathers are deposited; it has been our cradle, and is the hallowed tomb of our ancestors. It is that in which we have contracted the most sacred engagements, the dearest relations of human life; here we have found the companions of our childhood, the friends of our youth, the gentler partners of our lives; here our memory points at every turn to some haunt of infancy, to the scene of some endearing hour, of some treasured recollection in maturer age; in fine, to some resistless motive of love and filial duty. To sum up all in one word, it is our country! our dear, our native land! That monster never breathed, so far distorted from the forms of nature, whose bosom has not acknowledged that strongest instinct, that most universal passion, that most rational and most virtuous affection of all those which God has implanted in the breasts of his creatures—the love of his country. I speak to those whose hearts are, at this moment, glowing with it, and I need not fan the holy flame.—— Let us next contemplate the evils we are called upon to avert from this country which we love.——First, the utter abolition of our own free, happy, ancient, and independent domestic government, which must make room for a new foreign tyranny, founded on the dreadful charter of conquest, maintained and administered every hour of its existence by the edge of the sword.—— No man, I presume, is ignorant that the subjection of one nation to another is the lowest and most abject state of human vassalage; and that the oppression of a foreign master, that master too a conqueror, is more dreadful, as it is more shameful, than the worst imaginable evils of domestic slavery. What must it then appear to our palates, who will have to contrast its bitterness with the sweets of our present happy and honourable freedom?——The first consequence of such a degradation is to break the heart, to sink the spirit of the whole nation. Every energy, whether of the physical or mental powers, every sinew of laborious industry, every spring of genius, feels the enervating influence of shame, of sorrow, and despair; every thing that is worthy, every thing that is honourable, every thing that is useful, every thing that might even console, sickens, and expires under the withering touch of power, while passive disgrace and ruin alone survive, or seem to haunt, like pale and discontented ghosts, the relics of departed happiness and glory.——Commerce and manufacture are, of course, extinguished. For where are we to look for capital or credit without security; and where are ingenuity, invention, application, diligence, and labour to be found without reward? That commerce, and all the smiling treasures it diffused amongst us; those manufactures, and all the thriving multitudes they fed, must vanish from the land; or the fruits and profits of the little that may yet cling to its native soil must be transported to other climes; must pass to the benefit of strangers; must pamper the proud and insolent luxury of the new, but universal metropolis of the world!——Shall we hope, at least, to retain the produce of our own soil? Who shall insure, even in this, our precarious tenure? Who shall promise that these foreigners will condescend to read, or will respect our charters and our infeftments? Where, in what region that they have yet visited, has the hand of rapine been stayed by wax or parchment? But grant us our barren acres, for barren they must then be; what will be the amount of their produce when not a husbandman, from one extremity of the island to the other, shall have, I do not say a security, but an expectation, a hope, to reap what he has sown? For as to our boasted security of property, that root and foundation of prosperity, it has vanished from the land; all property, great and small, permanent and transitory, must be held at will, and at the will of those whose rapacity seems to accommodate itself to every dimension of plunder, and to devour alike the rich man's treasure and the poor man's mite. Who does not know that the extent of the tyrant's exaction has no other measure than the mere physical capacity of the slave to administer to it? Let not those who have no property hope to escape. They shall pay with their bodies; shall toil at home for some upstart com-

missary, some general, or some sergeant who may play the general, and their wages shall be blows; or, instead of an equitable selection, perhaps one in a hundred, to defend, in some rare emergency, their own fireside, they shall be dragged, every man without distinction, to supply the ranks of French soldiers, now become their masters; to perish in the room of Frenchmen in the most pestilent climates of the globe, fighting the cause of their oppressors.—— Such is a slight and hasty sketch of the general and public oppression of a conqueror; but has any one imagined, can any one imagine, who has not witnessed it, the infinite, the various, the unnumbered, and innumerable ramifications, of private, of individual, of subaltern rapine and vexation, which seem to shoot from such a stem? The conquering government can spread only a sort of sweeping desolation over the land. Some few may stoop, and hope to escape. But these pages and train-bearers of oppression make cleaner work of it. These tribes of petty and subordinate extortioners, these swarms of minute locusts, penetrate like snow into the closest recess and refuge of misery; they bite close, as it were, what the broader tooth of the master was obliged to spare. But why should I dwell on such images? why should I enlarge on such topics? Is it not enough to say, that the aim professed by the enemy, is the conquest of our country, the demolition of our Sovereign's throne, the abolition of our free government, the bondage, the pillage, and even the massacre of the people? Such then are the evils against which our country calls for our protecting arms.——Let us next inquire who is this conqueror? who is he who presumes to number these kingdoms already amongst his provinces? who is he who would usurp the firm and lawful throne of these realms?——He comes, in the first place, no doubt, well practised in usurpation. His usurpations are of no ordinary cast; they are double, complicated villanies. He first supported the usurpation of others, that he might next usurp on the usurper. He started the humble and servile tool, the base, unprincipled, but cruel and unmerciful instrument of the French Committees and Directory. On these honourable functions he founded his first fortunes, and continued to exalt them, until, by the very power he had obtained in this detestable servitude, he thought himself sufficiently great to add the blood of his sanguinary friends and masters to all he had already shed in their service, and to erect his own usurpation on the fragments of theirs.—— He was instrumental in deposing, in dethroning, in murdering a prince who had administered mildly and benevolently, at least in his own person, a government, which, whatever may be said of it, rested on the venerable sanction of many centuries. This he did, forsooth, for the improvement of liberty; and the first use the same man made of a power usurped on that ground from the legal sovereign of an established and constitutional government, was, to reduce the same people to the most deplorable condition of domestic slavery; I mean, to crush them under the sullen and gloomy weight of a military despotism.—— To other nations he uniformly promised protection and favour, respect of persons, of property, of religion, and laws; emancipation from tyranny; a new influx, or a new creation of wealth and prosperity;—his approach was, in fine, to be an æra of some new millennium. Of most of those countries he has made desolated provinces; and in his passage through the rest his footsteps may uniformly be tracked in the blood and tears of their inhabitants.—— In religion, his first and only sincere profession was atheism. But he has shifted from month to month, from week to week, and still, as occasion served, from Atheist to Christian, from Christian to Mahometan, from Mahometan back to the head of the Catholic church; and, believe me, if we should ever behold this pious Portens in these kingdoms, we shall find him a good Episcopalian, an austere Presbyterian, a zealous Lutheran, a sincere Calvinist, an inspired Methodist, a scrupulous Quaker—all and every thing, from county to county, and from parish to parish, from church to conventicle, and from conventicle to the field, in the vain hope (for vain I am sure it would prove) that some of our deluded pastors, or some deluded portion of their flocks, should admit him with a little more facility into their fold, there to profess at length his own and his only true faith—the religion of the wolf.——What shall I add? I should be loath to load even an enemy with unfounded calumny. We shall soon, perhaps, have an opportunity of measuring with him braver and more generous weapons than the tongue. Yet, in the name of truth and of outraged humanity, I must not close my feeble sketch of this prodigy of guilt, without proclaiming aloud, that this man, who would have us abandon our virtuous Sovereign and bend our knees at his own detested footstool, is he who fled from his defeated and perishing army—is he who murdered in cold blood four thousand disarmed

prisoners—is the deliberate poisoner of his own sick and wounded comrades! Let us turn quickly from this shocking, this disgusting picture, and let us contemplate more grateful objects.——Who are those whom the man I have thus described has dared to claim already for his slaves?—— I shall not encroach upon your indulgence, by sounding the praises of the whole British nation. It were a theme pleasing indeed, but too vast for the limits of this occasion. Let us content ourselves rather with turning our eyes still a little more homeward; and let me ask, who are those whom I have now the honour to address? ——Can we look, in the whole range of this country, upon a hill, upon a plain, upon a river, nay, upon a glen, or on a burn, in which we shall not recognize some memorial of a brave ancestry? This country, placed as it was for centuries on the very frontier of an enemy—this people, living as they did from childhood to old age constantly in the advanced posts, as it were, of one great camp—this country and this people have transmitted to us all some trophy, some monument of ancient prowess. A happy revolution in our political relations has, indeed, for a considerable period, sheathed the swords, unstrung the bows, and rusted the spears of our families. I am among the first to hail and gratulate that happy change. But is it possible that these blessings, which have added new value to the country which claims our aid, should have obliterated the race, should have changed the men who inhabit it? Are we not still the sons, and, I trust, no degenerate sons, of those fathers? Does not their blood still flow in our veins, still beat in our hearts, still warm and inflame our breasts? Am I not at this moment surrounded by many illustrious names, once worn by warriors who fought so often, and fought so bravely, in the cause of their country? And should we shrink before the invaders of their tombs? their very bones, I think, would rise to chide us!——In such a cause, what need of motives? Yet are there rewards which even the brave need not blush to covet. First, the consciousness that we have done our duty—that fullest and highest recompense of human action—that purest and most perfect consolation, which takes the sting clean out of every evil.——Next, the gratitude of our country and the applause of posterity. The love of glory is the passion of the brave and generous, and is worthy of standing by the side of patriotism itself, as an honourable incentive to courage and exertion. These rewards will not be wanting. Those whose chance it will have been to fall bravely in this holy cause, will have paid to their posterity that debt of honour which they still owed to their ancestors. They have worn their ancient honours on the title, perhaps, of descent alone. They will now have won with their own swords, and transmit from their own hands, fresh and blooming glory to their sons. Their ashes will be consecrated by the tears of their country, their names will be canonized by its grateful remembrance.——Those who shall survive, those who shall be distinguished in the noble conflict, those who shall return victorious, must meet a reward too bright, too transporting, to be painted by me. I see them followed by the shouts and by the gaze of admiring and grateful multitudes; I see them greeted by the acclamation of neighbours; I see them overwhelmed in the embraces, bathed in the proud, but fond and joyful tears of parents, of sisters, of daughters; I see them rushing, perhaps, into the open arms of still more tender welcomers; for beauty and virtuous love are assigned by Providence itself to be the meed of brave and honourable men.

CLUBS AND SOCIETIES.

The following letter has been received from a clergyman of the Church of England. It was accompanied with another letter, which had been transmitted to him, as minister of a parish situated near the metropolis, which letter was a *circular* from a body of persons, styling themselves, "THE SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE." This circular states, that the Rev. Mr. RUSH, minister of Chelsea, together with his two church-wardens, Messrs. STIDDER and FELTHAM, have addressed to their parishioners "an admonition respecting the profanation "of the Lord's day, which admonition the "Society hope will serve as an *example* to "the minister and church-wardens *of every* "*parish in the kingdom.*" Thus put in possession of the subject, the commentary will be read with more advantage.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,——Having received the circular letter which you will find enclosed, directed to me as a beneficed clergyman, I think myself at liberty to comment on its contents, and on the nature of that society which has thought proper to address it to me.——The letter itself can be considered in three lights —either as a puff direct, to sound as it were,

with a trumpet in the corners of our streets the superior piety of Messrs. Rush, Stidder, and Feltham—or, as a puff oblique to proclaim aloud with their own mouths the modest zeal of these guinea religionists, with some view to procure fresh subscriptions, or, what is much more probable, a sly, impudent insinuation, that *the ministers of the established Church either do not know, or will not do their duty*——an insinuation, which the *dissenting* part of the society are very eager to propagate, and which the true churchmen among them are not over wise to believe or to sanction.——I am as ready as any one of the society, whether he has imbibed his opinion from observation or experience, to acknowledge "the crying sins "which are laid to the nation's charge," among others "the profanation of the "Lord's day,"—I am as ready "to dread "the displeasure of the Almighty at a crisis "like the present," and not less so in times less calamitous.—I am as ready to use, and do constantly use, what by the way is very slightly hinted at in this alarming letter, "the mild endeavours of persuasion," that my parishioners "should keep the Sabbath-"day holy," and have no reason, generally, to complain of them,—and I do firmly believe, that all my brethren of Sion College, and every where else, are equally active and zealous, and successful, without sounding a pharisaical trumpet to be heard of men.—— And in respect to the sins of the present age crying louder, or the profanation of the Sabbath being more general, than at former periods, I am one of those who do not believe the fact;—and, if it really were the case, I am one of those who think that the enforcing of the laws in their utmost rigour, with the wailings and whinings of an heraclite society, would rather tend to make those sins more general—for every man of common sense and discernment must know, that such wailings excite only pity, ridicule, or contempt, and that this is an age when men are not to be prosecuted into piety.— And if whinings or force be necessary, every clergyman has possession of the ears of his parish some hours in every week, uncontroled and unanswered; he has Burn in his study, and generally speaking, as tractable and good church-wardens as Messrs. Stidder and Feltham can be for the life of them, and magistrates at hand of integrity and courage to put the laws in execution, without the co-operation of any self-elected supererogating *censores morum*, whether clerical or laical, to assume the sworn and bounden duty of the parish priest, and to scold or lash the vices out of their parishioners.——Allow me, Sir, a word or two about "the extent of the exertions of this society "having been attended with considerable "effect."—Of the whole extent, indeed, I am no judge, but as far as I do know, this "considerable effect" they talk of should be read "considerable mischief."——You must have known that this society has prosecuted certain persons for selling obscene books and prints; every good man laments there are persons base enough to vend them at all, especially among boarding-school boys and girls; he will readily acknowledge such persons deserve heavy punishment; he will rejoice at their receiving it.—But, Sir, their crime from its nature sought secrecy; and would to God their punishment had done so; but that would not have suited the views, the interest, and the pride of this society; the newspapers were instructed to give publicity to the prosecution; they detailed circumstance by circumstance; they took care to inform both boys and girls that such publications were to be had, and when by negative descriptions they inflamed the curiosity and the natural warmth of youth, they most artlessly described the name of the vender, the street he lived in, and the very number of his house, which of course multiplied and expedited the sale.—This, Sir, was the "considerable effect," which *I know* the society has produced in many lamentable instances by the publicity of their exertions, and this is the only effect it could produce; the prosecution would have been as severe and as exemplary without it; the offender would have been as effectually, nay more effectually, stopped in his career, and there would have been much greater hope of his being reformed by the punishment.——Among all the quackeries in this age of empiricism, whether public or private, religious or moral, political or charitable, there are none so dangerous as the quackery of reformation; for my own part, whatever these gentlemen may do, I can see neither pleasure nor advantage in dabbling and raking like dirty children into the slime, and filth, and mud of the gully-hole, which can be attended with but one consequence, that of polluting the stream into which it empties itself.——But this is *the age of clubs*, and as far as man is a gregarious animal, there can be no objection to his innocent enjoyment of social whims and pleasures;—but I hate as hypocritical, I detest as abominable, I dread as dangerous, all *reforming societies*, from the whig-club to the vice-club; because our constitution does not want mending by the factious; because our church has sufficient purity and sufficient power to

recommend and regulate itself; because, while the established clergy are so well dispersed and so well disposed, through the whole kingdom, all interference with their exclusive duties promotes nothing but dissention and infidelity;—because the best mode of rendering the nation better would be for every individual to reform himself, to study to be quiet and mind his own business; and, because even those who would be most active in the suppression of vice, need only look into their own hearts to find sufficient employment for all their zeal and all their compassion.——I am, Sir, &c. &c.

A Beneficed Clergyman.

Oct. 6, 1803.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

(Continued from p. 500.)

Pay at the rate of 6s. per diem may be allowed upon special application, through the Lord Lieutenant, and upon a consideration of all the circumstances of the Corps, for an Adjutant (who has served at least 5 years as a Commissioned Officer in the Regulars, embodied Militia, Fencibles, or East India Company's Service) to regiments of Yeomanry Cavalry, consisting of not less than 300 effective rank and file; but the permanency of this allowance of pay must depend on the terms under which the Corps have agreed to be trained and exercised, and whether for a greater number of days than 20.——Pay, at 3s. 11d. per diem, including 9d. for the horse, may be allowed upon special application, through the Lord Lieutenant, and upon a consideration of all the circumstances of the Corps, for a Serjeant Major (who has served at least 3 years in some of his Majesty's forces) to Corps of Cavalry of not less than 120 effective rank and file.——The sum of 120l. per Troop per ann. will be issued half yearly, at the disposal of the Commandant, in lieu of pay to Serjeants and Trumpeters, and of all other expenses whatsoever.——If a Corps or any part thereof shall be called upon in cases of riot or disturbance, the charge of constant pay to be made for such services must be at the rate following per diem, being the pay of the regular Cavalry, and be supported by a certificate from his Majesty's Lieutenant or Sheriff of the County, viz.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Colonel	1	12	10	Adjutant	0	10	0
Lieut. Col.	1	3	0	Serj Maj. including 9d. a horse	0	3	11
Major	0	19	3				
Captain	0	14	7	Serjeant do.	0	2	11
Lieutenant	0	9	0	Corporal do.	0	2	4½
Cornet	0	8	0	Trumpeter do.	0	2	4
Quarter Master	0	5	6	Private do.	0	2	0

Serjeants receiving constant pay, and all Trumpeters (or Buglemen) receiving pay, either at a daily or weekly rate, to be attested and made subject to military law, until they shall be regularly discharged by the Commandant, as prescribed by statute 43 Geo. 3. cap. 121.

An application must be made to the Secretary at War by the Commandants of Regiments or Corps of Yeomanry when duly accepted, for the allowances granted to such regiments or corps; and upon receiving his sanction to the claim, the amount thereof may be drawn for upon the general Agent for Volunteer Corps in bills at 35 days sight——Every officer, non-commissioned officer, and private man to take the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors.——The dates of the Commissions of Officers of Volunteer Corps rest with his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, who must be addressed through the Lord Lieutenant of the County.——All proposals for raising or augmenting Yeomanry Corps for any alteration in the title of the Corps, or names of the officers must be transmitted through the Lord Lieutenant of the County, to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department.——All applications for arms and accoutrements should be made through the Lord Lieutenant of the County, directly to the Board of Ordnance; and all applications for ammunition for exercise and practice should be made through the Inspecting Field Officer of Yeomanry and Volunteers to the Board of Ordnance annually. Ammunition for service should be drawn through the medium of the Inspecting Field Officer from the dépôt under the orders of the General Officer of the district.——The arms, &c. furnished by the Board of Ordnance to Corps of Yeomanry Cavalry, are as follows:—

Pistols
Sabres with Scabbards } For the whole complement.
Belts for ditto

All effective members of Volunteer Corps and Companies accepted by his Majesty, are entitled to the exemptions from ballot allowed by 42 Geo. 3. c. 66. and 43 Geo. 3. cap. 121, provided that such persons are regularly returned in the Muster Rolls to be sent in to the Lord Lieutenant or Clerk of the General Meetings of his County, at the times, in the manner, and certified upon honour by the Commandant, in the form prescribed by those Acts and Schedules thereto annexed.——The Monthly Returns should be transmitted to the Inspecting Field Officer appointed to superintend the District in which the Corps is situated, and to the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

REGULATIONS *for the establishments, allowances, &c. of* VOLUNTEER INFANTRY CORPS, ACCEPTED SUBSEQUENTLY *to* AUGUST 3*d*, 1803.—*Dated War-Office, September* 28*th*, 1803.

A Regiment to consist of not more than 12 Companies, nor less than 8 Companies. — A Battalion to consist of not more than 7 Companies, nor less than 4 Companies.——A Corps to consist of not less than 3 Companies.——Companies to consist of not less than 60, nor more than 120 privates.—To each Company 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Second Lieutenant or Ensign.——(It is however to be understood, that where the establishment of any Companies has been already fixed at a lower number by Government, it is to remain unaltered by this regulation.——Companies of 90 Privates and upwards to have 2 Lieutenants, and 1 Second Lieutenant or Ensign; or 3 Lieutenants, if a Grenadier or Light Infantry Company.——Regiments consisting of 1000 privates, to have 1 Lieut. Col. Commandant, 2 Lieut. Colonels, and 2 Majors.—No higher rank than that of Lieut. Col. Commandant to be given, unless where persons have already borne high rank in his Majesty's forces.——Regiments of not less than 800 privates, to have 1 Lieut Col. Commandant, 1 Lieut. Colonel, and 2 Majors.——Regiments of not less than 480 privates, to have 1 Lieut. Col. Commandant, 1 Lieut. Colonel, and 1 Major.——Battalions of less than 480 privates to have 1 Lieut. Col. and 1 Major.—Corps consisting of 3 Companies to have 1 Major-

Commandant, and no other Field Officer. — Every Regiment of 8 Companies or more may have 1 Company of Grenadiers, and 1 Company of Light Infantry, each of which is to have 2 Lieutenants instead of 1 Lieutenant, and 1 Second Lieutenant or Ensign.——Every Battalion of 7 Companies, and not less than 4, may have 1 Company of Grenadiers, or 1 Company of Light Infantry; which Company may have 2 Lieutenants instead of 1, and 1 Second Lieutenant or Ensign.——One Serjeant and 1 Corporal to every 20 privates.——One Drummer to every Company, when not called out into actual service.——Two Drummers when called out.

STAFF.

An Adjutant, Surgeon, Quarter-Master, and Serjeant Major, may be allowed on the establishment of Corps of sufficient strength, as directed by the Militia Laws; but neither the said Staff Officers, nor any other Commissioned Officer, will have any pay or allowance whatever, except in the following cases, viz:——If a Corps, or any part thereof, shall be called upon to act in cases of riot or disturbance, the charge of constant pay may be made for such services, for all the effective officers and men employed on such duty, at the following rates; the same being supported by a certificate from his Majesty's Lieutenant, or the Sheriff of the County; but if called out in case of actual invasion, the corps is to be paid and disciplined in all respects as the regular Infantry; the Artillery Companies excepted, which are then to be paid as the Royal Artillery.

Per diem.	*s.*	*d.*
Field Officer or Capt. of a Company	9	5
Lieutenant	5	8
Second Lt. or Ens.	4	8
Adjutant	8	0
Quarter-Master	5	8
Surgeon	10	0

Per diem.	*s.*	*d.*
Serjeant-Major and 2s. 6d. per week in addition	1	6
Serjeant	1	6
Corporal	1	2
Drummer	1	0
Private	1	0

The only instances in which pay will be allowed by Government for any Individual of the Corps when not so called out, are those of an Adjutant and Serjeant Major, for whom pay will be granted at the rates following:—Adjutant, 6s. per diem; Serjeant Major, 1s. 6d. per diem, and 2s. 6d. per week in addition, if authorized by his Majesty's Secretary of State, in consequence of a particular application from the Lord Lieutenant of the County, founded upon the necessity of the case: but this indulgence cannot be allowed under any circumstances, unless the Corps to which the Adjutant may belong shall consist of not less than 500 effective rank and file, and he shall have served at least five years as a Commissioned Officer in the Regulars, embodied Militia, Fencibles, or East India Company's Service; and unless the Corps to which the Serjeant Major may belong shall consist of not less than 200 effective rank and file, and he shall have served at least three years in some of his Majesty's forces.——Drill Serjeants of Companies are to be paid by the Parishes to which their respective Companies belong, as is provided in the 43d Geo. III. cap. 120, sec. 11. and no charge to be made for them in the accounts to be transmitted to the War-Office.——Pay at the rate of one shilling per man per day for twenty days exercise within the year to the effective Non-commissioned Officers (not being Drill Serjeants paid by the Parish), Drummers and Privates of the Corps, agreeably to their terms of service. No pay can be allowed for any man who shall not have attended for the complete period of twenty days.——When a charge of constant pay is made for an Adjutant or Serjeant Major, his former services must be particularly stated in the pay list wherein the first charge is made.——The allowance for clothing is twenty shillings per man, once in three years to the effective Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers and Privates of the Corps.——The necessary pay lists will be sent from the War-Office, addressed to the several Commandants, who will cause them to be filled up, and who will take care that the certificates be regularly signed whenever the twenty days exercise shall have been completed and the clothing actually furnished to the men. The allowance for the twenty days exercise may be drawn for immediately, and that for the clothing, in one month after the receipt of such pay lists at the War-Office, by bills, signed by the several Commandants, at thirty days sight, upon the general agent: unless any objection to the latter charge shall be signified officially to the said Commandant in the meantime.——The whole to be clothed in red, with the exception of the Corps of Artillery, which may have blue clothing, and Rifle Corps, which may have green with black belts.——Serjeant Major receiving constant pay, and Drill Serjeants paid by the parish, to be attested, and to be subjected to military law as under 43 Geo. III. cap. 121.——All applications for arms and accoutrements shall be made through the Lord Lieutenant of the County directly to the Board of Ordnance, and all applications for ammunition, for exercise and practice should be made through the Inspecting Field Officers of Yeomanry and Volunteers to the Board of Ordnance annually. Ammunition for service should be drawn, through the medium of the Inspecting Field Officer, from the dépôt under the orders of the General Officer of the District.——The arms furnished by the Board of Ordnance to Corps of Volunteer Infantry are as follow:—Muskets complete with accoutrements; drummers' swords and drums with sticks; spears for serjeants.——The articles furnished to Volunteer Artillery by the Board of Ordnance, are pikes, drummers' swords, and drums with sticks.——Spears are allowed for serjeants, and pikes to any extent for accepted men not otherwise armed.——The following allowances, in lieu of accoutrements, &c. where required, may be obtained on application by the Commandant of the Corps to the Board of Ordnance:—10s. 6d. per set in lieu of accoutrements; 3s. each drummer's sword belt; 2s. each drum carriage.—Such Corps as have offered to serve free of expense, and have been accepted on those terms, can claim no allowance under these heads of service.——Every Officer, Non-commissioned Officer, Corporal, Drummer, and Private Man to take the oath of allegiance and fidelity to his Majesty, his heirs and successors.——If the Commandant of a Corps should at any time desire an augmentation in the establishment thereof, or any alteration in the title of the Corps, or the names or dates of commissions of the officers, the same must be transmitted through the Lord Lieutenant of the County, in order to the amendment being submitted to his Majesty.——All effective Members of Volunteer Corps and Companies accepted by his Majesty, are entitled to the exemptions from ballot allowed by 42 Geo. III. cap. 66, and 43 Geo. III. cap. 121, provided that such persons are regularly returned in the muster rolls to be sent in to the Lord Lieutenant or Clerk of the General Meetings of his County, at the times, in the manner, and certified upon

honour by the Commandant, in the form prescribed by those Acts and Schedules thereto annexed.—— The Monthly Returns should be transmitted to the Inspecting Field Officer appointed to superintend the District in which the Corps is situated, and to the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

Great as are the dangers, the real physical dangers, which menace this empire from without, and which now are not to be avoided, still our internal dangers, arising from the incapacity and selfishness of the ministers, are infinitely greater. Never mind that, says, Mr. Sheridan. When the country is in danger, "ask not *who is the minister*, but "*where is the enemy*;" and this sentiment is, of course, applauded by Mr. Addington. Never look at me and my follies, and my places, and my rapaciousness, but look towards the coast; go, ye cowards, and fight, and not stand here prying into the conduct of those who have brought the battle to your doors. This doctrine may suit very well Mr. Sheridan, who wants to get a place, and Mr. Addington who has twenty places, which he wants to keep; but, few other persons will, unless they are actuated by similar views, attempt to maintain it. The opinion of Burke, on this subject, has very recently been cited: "It is said," says he, "that, whatever our sentiments may have "been before, all the policy we have left is "to *strengthen the hands of government*. On "the principle of this argument, the more "mischiefs we suffer from any administration, *the more our trust in it must be confirmed*. Let them but once get us into *a "war, and then their power is safe*, and an "act of oblivion past for all their misconduct." The great Lord Chatham, while Mr. Pitt, speaking upon this topic, on the 7th of January, 1740, said: "It is my opinion, that our time cannot be more usefully employed, *during war*, than in *setting the degree of confidence* that may be "reposed in those persons, to whose care "are entrusted our reputations, our fortunes, and our lives." Such was the opinion of two of the greatest statesmen that this, or any country ever produced; and, against which opinion, no one will scarcely be found impious enough to oppose the place-seeking maxims of Mr. Sheridan *.—

But, the fact is, we do not enquire "*who* is "the minister?" We enquire *what* he is, and *what he has done*. It is not his name, or his person, that offends us so much: it is his qualities and his actions; his ignorance, his pusillanimity, and his selfishness; the ruin and the infamy to which he has exposed us. And, as to asking "*where* is the "enemy?" That would be ridiculously superfluous: we know but too well where he is *now*; and, if he should come any nearer to us, the inquiry will, certainly, not be more necessary. So that this eulogized, this lofty, this loyal and patriotic sentiment, is, when it comes to be examined, mere unmeaning verbiage, a turn of words, like one of those with which the jack-pudding amuses the bumpkins at a wake: and thus it is that this poor cozened nation has, inch by inch, been led to the very brink of destruction.—What, however, excites the greatest degree of indignation, is, that we are requested, and even commanded, on pain almost of being stigmatized as traitors, to show all this forbearance, all this hitherto unheard-of indulgence, towards men, who have, both in doors and out of doors, employed every means in their power to vilify and to injure all those, who have endeavoured to prevent the dreadful mischiefs, which they have brought upon their country. The base arts they made use of to inflame the rabble, all over the country, against the noblemen and gentlemen, who had the wisdom and the integrity to oppose the peace, or rather, to prepare the nation for its fatal consequences, are fresh in the memory of every one. —— "The "Pilot," a work which was established for the express purpose of supporting the ministry, and which contained the most atrocious falsehoods against every one who opposed them, was conducted by a man, who, during the last war, *passed several years in jail for seditious practices*, and who, as editor of the Pilot, was selected by the Addingtons, and paid by Hiley Addington. I speak here of a positive fact. "The Pilot," a publication more false, scandalous, and infamous than any that ever, either before or since, issued from the British, or any other press, and which publication was devoted to the libelling of all those who were in opposition

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* The doctrine he inculcates now, is, besides, directly opposed to that which he has held on former occasions: "The Right Hon. Gent. has made "a *strange assertion*: according to him, *the worse the "country is situated*, the more ready should the "House be *to lend their assistance to ministers*. What "would be the effect of such doctrine, if it were "to be adopted by the House? Would it not *annihilate their first duties?*"—Mr. Sheridan's Speech, 16th Feb. 1801. See his censure on the ministers, on that occasion, present Volume, p. 324 and 325.

to the ministry, *was paid for by Mr. Hiley Addington*; and, that the money came out of the public purse, few persons, I imagine, will doubt.——In parliament, and by the means of parliamentary reporters, what species of foul play is there, which has not been resorted to? Misrepresentation upon misrepresentation, falsehood upon falsehood; over and over again a hundred times has the minister himself been detected and exposed, and still has he returned to the practice of the most shameful misrepresentation ever heard of in the world. His statement of today has been denied: he has revived it tomorrow: again contradicted, again convicted, he has sunk for the present; but has started up again, the moment his opponent has been lifted from his neck.—

" Detect his fib, his sophistry, in vain;
" The creature's at his dirty work again."

——And this has been the constant practice of all his colleagues as well as of himself. But, the complete instance of the " candour" of the ministry, who set up such pretensions to the forbearance of their opponents, is exhibited in the " CURSORY REMARKS," which, under their auspices, have lately issued from the press, in the shape of a pamphlet. This pamphlet, is, I greatly fear, the production of a gentleman named BENTLEY, a gentleman whom I know not personally, but for whose talents, and, generally, for whose principles as expressed in his former political writings, I have a very great respect, and whom, therefore, I sincerely lament to see engaged in the service of persons, on whom he *must* look down with contempt. His resentment against Mr. Pitt, if the cause of that resentment be truly stated by Mr. Pitt's friends, I can readily excuse. But, however great his provocation; however great the rage that he must feel at being rejected, because he *refused to be a mere tool of George Rose*, which was, I take it, the real state of the case; however just it may be to make the ex-minister *feel* the weight of those talents, the existence of which he denied, because the possessor of them would not consent to be a slave; however fully MR. BENTLEY might be justified in lashing, without mercy, the follies and the faults of Mr. Pitt, nothing, most assuredly, can justify the use of that series of misrepresentations and falsehoods, that shameful sophistry, that low, that base courting of the rabble, which prevail from the beginning to the end of the " CURSORY REMARKS." And, if the writer is not to be justified; if the man, who has been *ill-treated* by Mr. Pitt, is not to be justified in writing these libels against him, what shall be said of Mr. Addington? And how, with this publication before him, can he have the assurance to talk of candour, or to hope for forbearance? Let him not pretend, that he knows nothing of the origin of this work. This hypocrisy is more shameful even than the fact, which it is meant to disguise. The " CURSORY REMARKS" contain a relation of facts and circumstances, which nobody but the ministers *could possibly* communicate to the writer of the pamphlet. Besides, out of the two thousand five hundred copies that have been published, *a thousand have been bought by the treasury*, and upwards of *seven hundred have been circulated under official franks!* And yet the candid and pious Mr. Addington knows nothing of the matter! Though the public, amidst all its pecuniary difficulties, will be called on to pay two or three thousand pounds, probably, for this libellous pamphlet, Mr. Addington knows nothing at all of it! This is the answer to every inquiry; this is the miserable subterfuge, by which he thinks to shelter himself from the vengeance of present times and from the detestation of posterity. It is this shameful falsehood by which he hopes to elude the charge of a breach of faith, of divulging the secrets of the Cabinet to a hired pamphleteer, and of committing, towards Mr. Pitt, an act of baseness and of ingratitude unparalleled in the history of parties. ——To dwell on each particular part of the " CURSORY REMARKS" shall be reserved for a time of more leisure. It is, for the present, sufficient to observe, that the pamphlet, which has been truly styled the Ministerial Manifesto, and which contains a premeditated and most violent attack on the *persons* as well as the principles, on the *private* as well as the public character, and even on the *families* and *friends* of all those who are, in any degree, hostile to the ministers; that this pamphlet has been published just at the prorogation of parliament, just at a time when all the persons attacked were dispersed over the country, and compelled to devote the whole of their time to its defence, just at a time, too, when these very ministers were deprecating all discussions, calling on us to " *suspend all party animosities*," bidding us " not ask who was the minister but where " was the enemy," and when they were representing it almost as an act of treason to call for their removal! Such is their idea of " *unanimity*," and such their method of obtaining it! So much weakness and so much arrogance, so much baseness and so much insolence, never was before exhibited in the

history of man.——Trusting, however, that the people will not for ever remain sunk in that stupor, into which they have been plunged partly by the measures of the government and partly by their own fears, it may not be amiss to remind them how much their situation has been changed for the worse, how fast and how far they have fallen, under the administration of the men, who now have the assurance to demand their implicit confidence.——These ministers found the country at war; at war, at *successful* war, with a fleet sailing against Copenhagen, with an army safely landed in Egypt, with Malta, the Cape, the Island of Elba, and an endless list of conquered colonies in her possession, and with a public credit unshaken, the country was put into their hands. What is our situation now? These same men have had, at their absolute disposal, the whole of the wealth and means of the country from that time to this, and how have they managed them? What is the change they have produced? Of *sixteen* of the conquests, which they found us in possession of, they gave up *fourteen* to the enemy, *three* of the most trifling of the sixteen they have since re-conquered, at the expense of a good sum of money and not without some British blood; eleven are still in the possession of the enemy, and the remaining *one*, which they had agreed to give up, they have made the ostensible object of a new war!——Since these ministers came into power, France without the expense of one single shilling, has acquired and sold again, the province of Louisiana; she has joined Piedmont and the Island of Elba to her own dominions; she has made Italy a sort of vice-royalty dependent on her; she has subdued Swisserland; rendered Holland more subservient than ever; she has laid Portugal under contribution; and, though last certainly not least, she has invaded and conquered, and pillaged his Majesty's hereditary dominions, where she is, at this moment, actually raising his Hanoverian subjects to fight against him and his subjects in Britain!

" Fir'd at the sound, my genius spreads her wing,
" And flies where Britain courts the western spring;
" Where lawns extend that scorn Arcadian pride,
" And brighter streams than fam'd Hydaspis glide;
" There all around the gentlest breezes stray,
" There gentle music melts on ev'ry spray:
" Creation's mildest charms are there combin'd,
" Extremes are only in the master's mind;
" *Stern* o'er each bosom *reason holds her state*,
" With *daring* arms *irregularly great*;
" Pride in their port, *defiance* in their eye,
" I see *the lords of human kind* pass by."

——The "*lords of human kind*," ruled by Mr. Addington! silently submitting, gentlemen, clergy, nobility and all, to the degrading sway of the son of a mad-doctor! To Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Castlereagh, and brother Hiley and brother Bragge! Pretty "*lords of human kind*," truly! With what shame, with what mortification, do we now read such passages as this! And, would not the poet, if he were alive, indignantly tear the page from his book? Yes, the lawns and the streams still remain, the breezes still stray and the music still charms our ears; but, were do we find that stern reason, those great and daring views, that proud defiance, which once made us appear the "lords of "human kind?" Lords of human kind, who, for the sake of peace, for the sake of 381 days of peace, give up sixteen conquered colonies, and the honour of the flag into the bargain! Lords of human kind, who are now running about asking where and when the enemy intends to land upon our shores! Lords of human kind, who are guarding the Thames by hulks, who are building huts along the coast to watch the French all winter, who are fortifying London, are preparing to *inundate* Essex and Kent, and who seem to regret that there is no way of getting the whole country under water, or up into the clouds!——But, not to go back to the days of Goldsmith; to confine ourselves to the change which has been produced by these present ministers; what was our situation, with regard to *the security of this kingdom*, previous to the peace of Amiens? Lord Hawkesbury himself shall answer the question:——" As to any harm, which France " could do to us, or which we could do " to France, I believe it does not require " many words to show to the satisfaction of " gentlemen, that a *total cessation* of any " thing like *serious and decisive aggression* " had taken place. Where, and in what " manner was it possible for us, even with " all our immense superiority at sea, to affect " France? The fact was, that *neither power* " *could affect the other* *." Now, either his lordship, through ignorance or through an intention to deceive, uttered a falsehood, on this solemn occasion, or he and his colleagues have effected a most tremendous alteration in our affairs; for, there is not a man amongst us, who does not *feel* that France can *now* affect us, though she could not before the peace of Amiens. Aye, say the be-

* Speech in defence of the Preliminaries of Peace, Vol. II. p. 1120 and 1121.

sotted herd, who ran about justifying that peace, "but, the truth is, the ministers "could not get the money to carry on the "war." Where, then, will they get it to carry on *this* war, which, without producing any increase of trade, as the last war did, will be infinitely more expensive? But, "the people were weary of that war." And will they not be weary of this, which is ten thousand times as harassing? Mr. Addington said, that another year of war would have cost forty millions, and that "even *cer-* "*tain success* would not have been worth "such an expense." The first year of this war, which is *certain to produce no success*, will cost *fifty millions*; the next will cost *sixty*, and the next *eighty* millions, if this wretched system is persevered in, and that it will be, as long as the present ministers remain in power, is certain. They can pursue no other. They have not minds to raise them above the miserable course, which they are at present pursuing, and which will inevitably conduct this country into the arms of France, if the people do not instantly come forward in a legal, orderly, respectful, and affectionate manner, and beseech their Sovereign to dismiss these men from his councils. There is not, perhaps, in the history of the whole world, an instance of such consummate folly, or such consummate baseness, as is exhibited by this nation, at this moment, in suffering, without remonstrance, the duration of the present ministry. Nor is our forbearance to be attributed to a sacred regard for his Majesty's prerogative, or to any other loyal, patriotic, or generous consideration or sentiment; but to that low, paltry, cowardly sort of motive, which influences the conduct of the wittol, who, though he feels the antlers weighing down his head, still bears with his dishonour, for fear of making things worse.

PRISONERS OF WAR.——Since the publication of the preceding sheet, the fear of invasion has increased, and, with it, the evidences of ministerial cowardice. A daily paper *, notoriously under the absolute controul of the ministers, has, after a number of introductory hints, at last, ventured to broach the horrid doctrine of the *necessity of putting to death the French prisoners of war*; not only those who may be taken in battle, on our shores, but those also, whom we already have in our power, and in our prisons! For the honour of the country, it is to be hoped, that the ministers will be able to clear themselves, and that they *will* clear themselves,

* The Morning Post.

of the imputation of having dictated these abominable writings; for, if they remain silent upon the subject, those who know any thing of the arcana of the London news-press will not hesitate to pronounce them to have entertained an intention of acting upon the bloody principles, to which their hirelings have attempted to reconcile the minds of the people.——It is, however, cowardice; not ferocity, poor wretches, but sheer cowardice, that makes these miserable creatures talk of shedding blood. They know, that they themselves shall not go to battle, and they care not if the nation pass for butchers; they care not what infamy is brought upon the English name, so that they see not the face of the enemy. "Go," say they to the army and the fleet, "go and kill the rascals, and "do not suffer them to come near us."—— That these sentiments ought by no means to surprise the readers of the Register will appear from a repetition of what was stated in it very nearly a year ago. "It is your "bawlers for *peace and plenty*; your phi- "lanthropic *haters of all war*; your men "who, to use their own words, would, "'rather be kicked a little than fight much;' "these are the men (if, indeed, they are "worthy of the name), who would gladly "subscribe half a crown a piece to pur- "chase the death of the Consul; not, be- "cause he is the enemy of their Sove- "reign and of the glory and independence "of their country, but because his restless "and ambitious mind may conceive such "projects as will deprive them of their "wealth, or *compel them to fight for it*. The "very same motives of selfishness and "cowardice, which led them to embrace "Buonaparté, would also lead them, if they "could do it with the certitude of impunity, "to slip a dagger in his side. That *cowards* "*are always cruel* is a maxim, which is now "fully verified.——One of my objections to "the peace of Amiens, one of my reasons for "beholding that measure with detestation, "is, that it has reduced this once brave and "honourable people, a people famed for the "frankness of their professions and the fair- "ness of their combats, to affect friendship "for those whom they hate, and *to hope for* "*security from the lowest and foulest of* "*means*."——This was written on the 30th of November last. Invasion was clearly foreseen, and it was still more easy to foresee what, in such a crisis, would be the conduct of those, who had hailed as a blessing the infamous peace of Amiens. The present object, however, is to prevail on the ministers to disown the detestable writings here alluded

to. It is well known, that the newspaper, in which they have made their appearance, is under the controul of the government very nearly as much as the Moniteur is under the controul of the government of France; and, if the ministers have regarded articles, published in the Moniteur, as a ground whereon to found a declaration of war, does it not behove them, is it not a duty which the nation has a right to demand at their hands, to wipe away the stain, which they, or their hirelings, have brought upon it?——Do these poor souls imagine, that their bloody-minded threats will prevent an invasion from taking place? Can they possibly be so foolish as to hope, that Buonaparté, or his army, are to be thus intimidated? There is not a single soldier; there is not a drum-boy, belonging to the army of England, who would not laugh such a menace to scorn; the very women would snap their fingers at it.

THE VOLUNTEERS are, then, it seems, to have the guardianship of the metropolis and the *palace*; and, as soon as they mount their guards, it is to be hoped that his Majesty will mount his horse, and ride off to Windsor, with a firm resolution never to come back again, till his palace is guarded by men, *who are under martial law*. But, is it possible, though? Is it really possible, that the ministers, that these famous "*King's friends*," are about to place the person of his Majesty under the protection of men, who *would not be liable to punishment*, even if they were to suffer a mob to enter his bed chamber? This is an odd way enough of showing that friendship for the King, from which they have the unbearable insolence to exclude every body but themselves, and on which exclusion they found their right to a monopoly of all the honours and emoluments, that the King has to bestow.

THE BANK, some persons think, should *now begin to pay in specie*, that, whatever gold there may be in it may get into circulation, previous to any approach of the enemy towards London; because, if the restriction at the Bank continue till the Bank itself fall into the possession of the French, and if that building really does contain the quantity of gold, which it ought to contain, Buonaparté will have ten times as much cash as all the nation put together.——*Some preparations* should be made, at any rate, and that *immediately* too; for, when the enemy is landed, in considerable force, it will be too late; but, as tardiness has brought us to the verge of destruction, so there is every appearance, that it will plunge us into the abyss.

THE NEWSPAPERS.—Amongst other precautions, in case of a war in the country, all the newspapers should be *instantly stopped*; for, their rumours and falsehoods would add terribly to the alarm and confusion, to say nothing of many of them espousing the cause of the enemy.—Down they should go, therefore, the moment martial law was proclaimed.

ARMS.—The ministers, notwithstanding the earnest exhortations of several members of Parliament, at the close of the session, *one-half* of the Volunteers in the kingdom are yet *without arms*, of any sort. *In* the metropolis, where the clamours reach government instantaneously; where the commanders of the corps go directly to the War-Office, arms have been supplied; but, in the country, and even very near London, they have not: to go no further than Croydon, the volunteers there have *not a single musket, or pike*; and, it is but a *few days* ago, that the delivery of arms *began* in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, the very spot where the attack is expected! And, shall we hold our tongues under these circumstances? Shall we stifle the voice of complaint, though we already feel the yoke of slavery sliding over our ears? Shall we be accused for factiousness, because we beseech his Majesty graciously to be pleased to save us and our children from infamy, and, for that end, to drive these weak and wicked counsellors from his presence? The language of these men is the most impudent and profligate. One of them, in a secondary situation, to be sure, but high enough to make his words worthy of public attention, lately observed, in reply to a remark, that if the ministers were not removed, the monarchy would fall in this contest, for that the people would be soon so disheartened and disgusted, as to cease all their exertions for its defence: "We "are safe enough, for the King *will have* "*nobody but us, let what will be the con-* "*sequence*, and, as for the Monarchy, *the* "*people will defend that* FOR THEIR "OWN SAKES." So impudent and insolent an assertion, a sentiment at once so base, so injurious to the King, and so degrading to the people, never was before uttered. Yet, there is every reason to believe, that this is the way of thinking of the far greater part of the cabinet.

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